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ABSTRACT

A program is described which enables mine workers in Sheffield, England, to participate in a day-release education program once a week for three years. Sponsored by the Universities of Sheffield and Leeds, the program exposes workers to economics, politics, sociology, and labor education while they are receiving full wages. Tutors in the program hold regular university appointments and have backgrounds in industry. Many of them have working class backgrounds and several were students in the day release programs before receiving university diplomas. Courses deal with a wide variety of labor-related topics, including hazards at work, work processes, industrial relations, rights at work, shop steward training, involvement in community affairs, working class television drama, and independent political education. The program also encourages work-related training of high school students and full-time semi-credentialized higher education for working class adults. Workers who have participated in the day release program report that they are more interested in participating in trade unions and working class political and community organization and that they feel better able to promote working class awareness. One measure of success of the program is that there are consistently more than three times as many applicants as places in the program. (DB)

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WORKERS' EDUCATION AND THE REPRODUCTION OF WORKING CLASS CULTURE IN SHEFFIELD, ENGLAND

by

David Hakken

Presented to the 1978 Annual Meeting

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In the Northern English industrial city of Sheffield, world-famous for its cutlery, a group of metal workers are participating in a classroom discussion of hazards of oils and solvents at work. The class is sponsored by the Workers' Educational Association (WEA). Tutors on the course are members of the Sheffield Science for People, mostly university graduates with scientific and technical training who have abandoned professional careers to work in industry, trade unions, and the workers' education system. The discussion which takes place is a unique combination of the theoretical and the practical, tutors describing the results of scientific research on hazards and workers describing the ways in which hazardous substances are actually used on the shop floor, along with the successes and failures of previous attempts to use their shop steward organization to promote worker safety.

Aurhur Skargill is President of the Yorkshire area of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). According to New Left Review, Skargill's leadership of the YNUM constitutes "an intransigent pursuit of proletarian class interests that has not been seen for many decades" (1975:1). Skargill is also, like several hundred other Yorkshire and Derbyshire miners, a beneficiary of a unique educational experience, the opportunity to participate in an uncredentialized three year program of day release education in economics, politics, and sociology, run by the Departments of Extramural Studies at the Universities of Sheffield and Leeds. At the time of the field study on which this paper is based, 180 miners spent one full day each week for three years with a Sheffield University tutor, discussing everything from the structure of their union to the demand for worker's control of industry. Conceptualized within the "Tawney" tradition of liberal university-level education, day release education--this means that workers are "released from normal work for educational purposes" for the day, while still receiving average wages--stresses a group-oriented pedagogy similar in many ways to the literacy techniques developed by Paulo Friere (1971). Tutors on the courses hold regular university appointments; they all have backgrounds of industrial experience, many have working class backgrounds, and two of them were themselves students on the day release program before going on to working men's colleges and university diplomas. The tutors actively encourage student participation in trade unions, working class political and community organizations, and WEA classes like "hazards at work".

Perhaps the best evidence of the nature of the impact of such participation is the transformation of the YNUM led by Skargill. When the day release program was instituted in the middle 1950's, the conservative leadership of the YNUM was extremely worried about the program's impact. One area official issued public warnings about the "clerks" from the Sheffield University course who wanted to take over the union. This was a time during which young militants like Skargill were physically blocked from entering their own union meetings. A long campaign of rank and file insurgency, including the setting up of unofficial

strike headquarters in several industrial disputes, lead to Skargill's election in the early 1970's and the adoption of an openly left line in the YNUM. The network of present and former students on the courses, a significant element of this campaign, now dominates leadership positions.

Upon election to the presidency of the YNUM, Skargill doubled the number of students on the day release course, despite the fact that the union itself has agreed to pay three-quarters of the released-time wages and all registration fees. About YNUM education in general, he comments:

> We have now launched in Yorkshire the best education scheme any trade union in Britain has got...The whole system of education is evolving and wider questions being explored, but we never lose touch with conditions in the coalfield (1975:28).

Despite the increase in the size of the course, there are consistently more than three times as many applicants as places. These applicants are almost all semi-skilled and skilled workers who left school at the minimum age allowed by law (14-16 years); their average age upon beginning the course is about thirty.

The classes on hazards at work and the educational experience of Skargill and his fellow Yorkshire miners are just two examples of the variety of educational opportunities with a distinct working class orientation which are available in the Sheffield area. They are part of an emergent system of workers' education which has a significant affect on the reproduction of working class culture in this labour-(and Labour-)oriented city in the industrial North of England. This paper is based on the results of a participative field study of workers' education and the reproduction of working class culture in Britain carried out during 1976 and 1977. It is the purpose of the paper to 1) describe the reproductionist theoretical framework within which the field project was conceived and the methodology used; 2) delineate the elements of the system of workers' education in Sheffield; and 3) discuss the implications of the study for further research in educational anthropology.

The field research was based on a reading of the literature in complex societies which stressed a) the extent to which there is a correlation between the structure of stratification in complex societies and cultural differences and b) the extent to which the literature provides no satisfactory account for such differences. Study of kinship (Bott 1971; Young and Willmott 1962; Schneider and Smith 1973), community (Withers 1945; Warner 1941; Dennis, Henriques, and Slaughter 1969), linguistics (Labov 1966; Fishman 1972), and various areas of applied anthropology such as education (Lewis 1966; Bernstein 1971; Leacock 1971) in capitalist industrial societies all document the significant correlation between culture and class difference. Extended analysis of various attempts to explain such variation, however, reveals serious theoretical shortcomings. Several types of "explanation" of the class cultural differences identified above, for example, essentially dissolve the problem, by either stressing the <u>embourgeoisement</u> of the working class (Anderson 1973) or by arguing that cultural difference can be reduced to differences

in some other part of the "action system"; it appears, at least from one point of view, that this is the strategy of Schneider and Smith (1973). Other approaches treat class-related cultural differences as real, but they are perceived as one form or another of incomplete deviations from the "normal" cultural pattern of an elite or dominating group (Kluckhohn and Kluckhohn 1947; Hsu 1969). Such approaches share fundamental similarities with more extreme examples of the "culture of poverty" approach a hallmark of which is held to be "a poverty of culture" (Lewis 1966). Both the deviance and the culture of poverty approaches have a pronounced tendency to view the distinctive cultural practice of non-elite groups through the eyes of the elite; thus, they are often little more than self-serving ideology (Leacock 1971).

Any attempt to explain class-cultural variation adequately must address the question of cultural perpetuation, the realm of educational anthropology.

I feel that the theoretical source of the inadequacy of all the approaches described above lies in their model of cultural perpetuation. Culture is held to be, at base, primarily a static system of "values" or "symbols"; the system is perpetuated by passing these cognitive elements from one generation to the next; this passing process is called "enculturation." Now once established, class-related cultural differences can be explained by "enculturation"--i.e., one can argue that such differences are perpetuated because parents in different classes "enculturate" different values or symbols into their children. But such an approach can provide no explanation for the origin of such differences or for changes in the content of such differences over time.

An alternative theoretical approach to the problem of cultural perpetuation must be found if we are to be able to account theoretically for the existence of class cultural differences. This alternative problematique I call "reproduction"; it stresses that any cultural system is subject to a variety of often contradictory forces which shape the manner and form in which the system is perpetuated. Reproductionist approaches have been explored most fully by French theorists like Pierre Bourdieu (1973), who distinguishes, for example, between "social reproduction"--the provisioning of the material needs of the whole social formation--on the one hand and "cultural reproduction"--the recapitulation of existing cultural structures and, I would add, the development of new ones to meet changing conditions of social reproduction--on the other.

Unfortunately, reproductionist approaches have a tendency to place emphasis exclusively on how cultural reproduction contributes to the domination of hegemonic classes (Gramsci 1971; Althusser 1972; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977), whereby any cultural difference is seen as a "ruling class plot" foisted on the rules and likely to be adaptationally inferior.

A very different use of the reproductionist approach has been taken by a number of British students of working class culture (Williams 1966; Thompson 1963). Williams, for example, develops a fruitful approach to the study of working class culture by rigorously applying a positive, very anthropological notion of culture as "a whole way of life":

> The basis of a distinction between bourgeois and working-class culture is...between alternative ideas of the nature of social relationship...(T)he idea that we properly associate with the working class (is) an idea which...regards society neither as neutral nor as protective, but as the positive means for all kinds of development...(T)his is the essential idea embodied in the organizations and institutions which the class creates: The working-class movement as a tendency, rather than all working class people as individuals. (1966:325-326).

In Williams and Thompson, one finds the argument that the structure of working class institutions contains cultural premises alternative and even oppositional to the dominant culture, and the notion that a distinct cultural practice is related to the political practice of working class life. Here are the beginnings of a theory which, by stressing the self-generated activity of a class, can account for the existence of cultural differences. These beginnings suggested to me the possibility that field research into the mechanisms through which working class culture in Britain is reproduced might be a good way to overcome the limitations identified above.

Now subordinate cultures, like the British working class culture described by Williams and Thompson, cannot rely on "normal" mechanism of cultural perpetuation; that is, that the essential elements of such oppositional cultures are precisely the kinds of things that "daily life" is unlikely to communicate from the parent to the child. This suggests the hypothesis that some form of conscious symboling is likely to be an important part of the reproduction of any subordinate class culture. And indeed, one finds institutional patterns referred to as "workers' education" as an integral part of the history of British working class culture, from the pamphlets of the 17th Century Levellers, to weekend schools of the Communist Party of Great Britain after World War Two.

Are there contemporary manifestations of the tradition of workers' education in Britain? If so, what are their impacts--are they an essential part of the reproduction of oppositional culture or, as is often charged from the left, merely elaborate rituals which function to reproduce the hegemony of bourgeois culture? In order to answer such questions in an ethnographic manner, a research design was developed which stressed two dialectically-related techniques for gathering data. One was

participation in as broad a range of workers' education institutions as possible in a variety of different roles; as organizer, as staff member, as tutor, as student, as curriculum preparer. The second technique was full participation in working class organizations and movements, such as trade union committees and political campaigns, in order to develop some gauge of the extent and quality of the impacts of the educational work. Through political contacts and as a consequence of my membership in a workers' education organization here in the United States--Workers' Education Local #189--I was able to carry out this project in Sheffield under extremely favorable field conditions.

The results of the research can be summed up in two fundamental propositions: 1) that an emergent system of workers' education is an important part of the reproduction of working class culture in contemporary Sheffield, and 2) that the impact of this system is largely positive from the point of view of increasing the capacity of the culture to reproduce itself and "serve the interest of the class." The bulk of the research was aimed primarily at identifying the particular dynamics of each form of workers' education--that is, the dialectic between the social wealth allocated to each form and the character of working class control over it. In short, I was concerned both with the impact of the system, and I attempted to address the applied question of how the system might contribute more to the reproduction of the class culture.

The remainder of this paper will concentrate on the various forms of worker education in Sheffield. Analysis of over two hundred workers' education "events" in which I participated lead to the following grounded model of the nine primary elements of the workers' education system in Sheffield:

1. The work process is the genesis point of working class knowledge. In a conversation about how workers develop a class perspective, a member of the Sheffield District Communist Party argued, "It's learned at work, through the social contact with your mates and through learning the lessons of struggle." The field experience clearly supported this perspective: that through involvement in the labor process, elements of class consciousness essential to the reproduction of working class culture are learned and new "collective adaptational techniques" are developed. Many of these are integrally connected with the world famous British shop steward system. In general, shop stewards are trade union representatives elected by shop floor workers from their own ranks. In a large Sheffield engineering firm studied by Sheffield University, the shop steward organization was involved in decisions regarding almost every aspect of the work process, including work design, decisions about new machinery, piece rates, and manning levels.

Disputes were handled by negotiation between the committee of shop stewards lead by a convenor--a full time union official though still paid a salary by management--and the plant general manager; foremen were generally bypassed and went to shop stewards for information. To workers in such a work situation, the demand for workers' control is a logical extension of the existing structure of work.

Shop stewards' committees generally preferred job actions, such as a ban on over-time work, rather than strikes as industrial weapons. Occasionally, however, strikes are necessary; during the field period, as part of a campaign to block the closure of a local engineering works, a decision was made to organize a local boycott or "blacking" of all of the parent firm's products. This lead eventually to a nine-week strike of workers in all thirteen of the firm's local plants and the organization of several acts of solidarity among other engineering workers, including a half-day general strike. While tremendous energy went into organizing support for the action, little attempt was make by the formal union leadership to take advantage of the educational opportunities available within the context of the action. Thus, while the workplace provides significant opportunities for the generation of worker's knowledge, this knowledge is often blocked from generalization throughout the class by the imperatives of the existing industrial relations system.

2. In the last seven or eight years, the British Trade Union Congress (TUC, the rough equivalent of the US AFL-CIO) has made a commitment to the development of a complex system of trade union courses to insure that the approximately 350,000 elected shop stewards are better equipped to deal with the situations which confront them at the work place. The decision to set up this national structure of shop steward education was promoted by the response to the Conservative government's Industrial Relations Act of 1971. This act attempted to impose an American style legal framework on industrial relations. Trade union education was a major part of building the campaign to render the IRA inoperable.

Modeled in many ways after the Sheffield University day release program in which Skargill and the other Yorkshire workers participated, the TUC program stresses a) a first tier of a basic ten-day introductory course, b) a second tier of ten-day classes on more specialized subjects like "rights at work" and "the mechanics of collective bargaining", and c) a third tier, for those with unique concerns like advanced safety organizing or worker participation in corporate boards of directors. During the field period, a new basic course was piloted in Yorkshire and my overall involvement with this and other aspects of TUC education left me with a strong favorable impression. Workers are paid for attending the courses, but they are free of management control and subsidized by a £ 400,000

per year grant from the national government.

3. The third major form is University day release, discussed above.

4. Shop steward education has been significantly strengthened by a fourth form of workers' education, workers' research--the codification of workers' knowledge and the preparation of teaching materials based on this codification. Such research and materials are an important part of the generalization of the kind of working class knowledge generaged through struggle at the workplace. They include numerous kinds of traditional academic work, such as the attempt to critique dominant trends in academic fields like industrial relations (Fatchett and Whittingham 1976; Barratt Brown 1972) and a variety of attempts to carry out worker-oriented empirical research (Brannen, et. al. 1976; Beynon 1975). But such worker-oriented research takes place in other contexts as well, particularly in relationship to the organized labor movement. In the last few years, a number of specialized trade union research units (TURU's) have developed with both national and local foci. The local units, for example, are supported partly by subscriptions from local trade union branches (locals) and shop steward committees; they assist research on local wage claims, provide materials for self-education, and run courses for local unions. Occasionally, they assist local unions in attempting to affect policy, as with the Tyneside TURU which assisted a local ship building union in developing a policy to meet the impending nationalization of the industry (Tyne Shipbuilding and General Branch, APEX 1976). This policy was eventually adopted by the national union.

Many of those carrying out the work of combining research materials with the "craft-type" worker knowledge which comes up from the shop floor are members of the Society of Industrial Tutors (SIT), a professional organization of labor educators. SIT sponsors its own research into worker education, convenes a variety of meetings annually on topics of special interest to workers' educators, and organizes the publication of teaching materials. The published elements of a planned fifteen volume set of basic worker education texts called Industrial Studies are widely used in TUC and other trade union education contexts.

5. The fifth form of workers' education is public secondary education. Since 1944, compulsory education has had a significant effect on the symboling of young working class people. The elimination of different school systems for the middle class and the working class through comprehensivization is held to be a major victory of the British working class movement. Yet there are critics of the comprehensive system who echo Althusser and Bourdieu in claiming that the existing secondary school system functions primarily to reproduce bourgeoise culture.

My research in Sheffield indicated that the public school system is an important locus of struggle over control of class cultural reproduction, the exact parameters of which are not clearly understood. For example, some comprehensive schools in Sheffield located in largely working class neighborhoods make meaningful attempts to integrate an understanding of industrial, labor, and social class history into their curriculum, whereas the curriculum of many grammer schools turned into comprehensives retains the old concentration on elites and political history. Research at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham has demonstrated important ways in which the school serves as a stimulus of an important anti-culture of working class students, a culture of "boys" as opposed to "ear 'oles." These latter are described by one working class lad as "creeps, arse creepers, teachers' pets...." As Willis (1975) comments, the ear 'oles are "generally despicable for their conformism to school norms, for their lack of assertiveness, for their inability to show any autonomy, and most of all for their inability to create 'fun' for themselves, to 'have a laff'" (p. 19). In contrast, the boys develop their own "lively, creative culture," which often served as a kind of socialization bridge for the working class lad from the school to the world of work and adult working class culture.

Through providing working class children with some basic reading and writing skills, the public school system has the potential for contributing significantly to the tools available to the working class for reproducing its culture. There is some evidence (e.g., Beynon 1975) that an increased level of literacy is one element in a significant lessening of parochialism within the working class movement in the past twenty or so years. At the same time, however, schools entice many working class children away from an identification with their class.

6. This contradition between increasing collective adaptational skills and the lure of personal advancement by breaking ones relations with one's class background is fundamental to the dynamics of the sixth form of workers' ecucation with an impact in Sheffield, public adult education. The Sheffield Local Education Authority (LEA) ran seventeen adult education centers throughout the city during the field period, centers with full programs of recreational, technical, social, political, and liberal education. These centers were complemented by the provision of the Workers' Educational Association--a voluntary body established early in the 20th century to promote liberal, social, and political education among the members of the working class--and the regular extension work of the Extramural Department (EXM, or extension division) of Sheffield University. Constant pressure is being applied to WEA's, LEA's, and EXM's to avoid politically sensitive material like "hazards at work" and concentrate their work on individual job advancement skills or "safe" subjects like art appreciation and local history. This

pressure sometimes takes the form of threats to cut off the public funds which support such adult education, but much of it derives from internal sources as well. For example, local volunteer branches of the WEA tend to be dominated by older people (the chairwoman of the Sheffield branch complained at the annual general meeting, "The problem with this branch is that there are too many octogenarians") who have come from working class backgrounds but who see themselves as culturally separate from the class. The chairman of another South Yorkshire branch, for example, had risen from a lowly stock boy to become director of the pattern-making department of a large manufacturing plant. Such individuals tend to use the WEA to equip themselves with the educational accoutrements of middle class respectability and resist any attempt to identify a distinct working class audience.

Partly to combat dynamics such as these, the WEA nationally has introduced a number of development schemes to insure a direct connection to working class concerns and promote workers' education. This includes working with the TUC education program and with TUFU's as well as special development plants, such as a project on trade union education for women worked out by the Sheffield WEA tutor/organizer. On a broader scale, the TUC and WEA have worked with the BBC to produce a series of multi-media educational programs of high quality intended to reach a working class audience broader than official shop stewards. This Trade Union Studies (TUS) project is an excellent example of the use of modern media to reach new audiences and maintain a significant working class orientation in public adult education.

7. The seventh form of workers' education with significant impact in Sheffield is the network of institutions providing full-time simi-credentialized higher education for working class adults. Ruskin College at Oxford is perhaps the most famous example of such institutions, but a sharp insight into their dynamics was provided during the field period by the decision to shut down another of the Workers' Colleges, Fircroft near Birmingham. An authoritarian new principal at Fircroft in the early 1970's argued that the proper role of the institutions should be to prepare working class adult students for entry into the normal university system, and he consequently placed great emphasis on mandatory remedial reading and writing classes. Students struck in protest of his authoritarian policies and they were supported by tutors. One student described the atmosphere as one in which:

> When we arrived at Fircroft we felt we were being handed down crumbs from the rich man's table. The implication was that it was a working man's Eton. We wanted it to be a working man's Fircroft. (Murphy 1976: 5).

The students and staff developed a "teach-in" counter curriculum which was democratically run and involved the development of a number of new courses, including one on cultural studies. The Cadbury family, which still controls the college despite state financing, shut it down.

Many of the working class students who were on the Sheffield University day release program or attended WEA classes like the one on hazards at work went on to Colleges like Ruskin and Fircroft. For a number of complicated reasons few returned to their old jobs, but many became trade union organizers and full-time industrial tutors. Such students now have the opportunity of attending the Northern College of Adult Education near Sheffield. It is hoped that this new College, as a consequence of its location close to the homes and workplaces from which its students come, and its municiple structure will be able to break down some of the isolation of full-time study and avoid some of the political contradictions of a college like Fircroft.

8. Workers' in Sheffield have educational opportunities which are a consequence of an eighth form, that of involvement in community affairs and organizations. Housing estates, tenants associations, and socialist youth groups, all provide informal education settings. These are complemented by the variety of essentially recreational and social events, such as workingmen's clubs and the yearly Yorkshire Miners' Gala--a festival which celebrates the miners organizations and combines political speakers with jazz band competitions and "miss miners' lamp" beauty contests. A recently added regular feature of such events is the presentation of performances by locally based repertory theatre groups. Their plays attempt dramatic representations of important events in the history of the working class, such as the march of unempolyed workers from Jarrow during the depression, or the General Strike of 1926. Alternately, the performances are political elaborations of traditional forms of working class entertainment, such as the music halls of the early 20th Century.

A cognate art form--working class television drama--has become a standard feature of evening television entertainment. Docudramas like one called "The Price of Coal" bring working class idiom and concerns into the sitting room in a subtle yet highly politicized fashion. This particular piece, for example, deals with events surrounding a visit by a member of the royal family to a coal mine in Yorkshire, the low level but hilarious attempts of workers at the pit to express their dissatisfaction and to resist the visit, and the death of five miners in a pit disaster which was directly traceable to the postponing of maintenance work because of the visit. This particular production is an excellent example of the interconnections of the various parts of the workers' education system. For example, the script writer had been a student on the day release program at Sheffield University. Many of the events depicted in the production had occurred at various Yorkshire pits and were collected in the day release class by tutors who passed them on to the writer. Actors for the production were local miners and their families, as well as stand-up comics from local workingmens clubs. Videotapes of the broadcast, copywright free for three years like all

educational productions, were frequently used in day release and trade union classes to stimulate discussions regarding the labor process and industrial health and safety.

9. The final form of workers' education with major impact in Sheffield is independent political education. Unlike the local Labour Party, the Sheffield District Communist Party had been running a major program of internal education at least since 1948. This program operates at the branch level through setting aside time for extended discussion of topics of current political concern and in special meetings to discuss the "classics" like the Communist Manifesto and State and Revolution at the District and Area level through special day and weekend schools for distinct groups, such as "leading industrial comrades" and "women comrades" and at the national level through week long "Communist Universities" which feature lectures by world famous Marxists like Paul Hirst and Louis Althusser. Each of the various Leftist parties groups in Sheffield attempted to run either an independent educational program or participate in joint ventures such as a monthly "Socialist Forum". While the political discussion within such programs was often enlightening, it could on occasion become doctrinaire. For example, after an hour and one-half lecture on the Socialist Workers' Party (SWP) theory of the state, a young party initiate asked the speaker, "If there were a revolution in Britain, wouldn't the pound fall? I mean, what would we do then?" The speaker answered confidently,

> If there were a revolution in Britain, it would be led by the SWP, because we have the correct revolutionary analysis. We would send all our leading cadres and workers to other countries to argue with the workers there to support our revolution, and the repression of the British revolution, whether financial or military, would be stopped by the force of their arguments. We would have to pay particular attention to the US, but we could convince the soldiers there not to attack us. Who are they, after all? They're workers, just like us.

In general, such simplistic revolutionary optimism was infrequent; indeed, the workers' educational consequences of involvement in the give and take of an active political community are remarkable. And again, political discussion and education is often integrated into other forms of workers' education, such as political party caucuses at week-long trade union schools, special educational groups gathered together around industrial actions like the blacking and strike described above, or the selling of political literature and the introduction of political resolutions at the monthly delegate assembly of the Sheffield District Trade's Council.

The forms discussed above constitute, in my opinion, the significant forms of workers' education in Sheffield. Taken together, the effects of workers' education provides a much more useful starting point for understanding the existence of a special working class culture than the kinds of theories described at the beginning of this paper. Additional research is necessary to understand the dynamics of workers' education within, for example, public compulsory education, or between workers' education and the reproduction of working class culture within the working class home. Additionally, only comparative research can establish whether the forms of workers' education which I have identified as important in Sheffield are also the important forms in other British cities, or, for example, whether the relative underdevelopment of workers' education in the United States is related to the lower level of working class self-identification and consciousness. Additionally, a concentration on workers' education would provide a useful point of entree into the dynamics of the socialist countries in Eastern Europe and the transformation of Third World socialist countries such as Cuba and Mozambique.

In sum, the development of a concentration on workers' education has allowed me to focus meaningfully on educational process outside of the classroom in a complex society. Additionally, the development of a reproductionist as opposed to enculturationist problematique has provided the possibility of a significantly more sophistocated point of view from which to explain the cultural distinctiveness of working class people. At base, these advances derive from a rigorous attempt to develop an empirical view of the autonomous culture of a dominated people, rather than an ideological view based on the biased perceptions of an elite. Other questions, such as the implications of the research for culture theory must be addressed elsewhere.

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